251 baskets. Such foods as sugar, coffee, salt, lard, fruits, vegetables, herbs, meat, fish, and manufactured foods such as bread are purchased in small quantities and are kept in various covered pottery or basket containers in the kitchen.

264 Eating habits show considerable variability as between families. They also change with
262 the season and the prevailing occupations.
184 Ordinarily three meals a day are eaten, at about 10 a. m., 2 p. m., and 7 p. m. or an hour later.
[556] Very poor people may eat only twice. The major foods are tortillas and other maize dishes, meat (or fish or cheese as substitutes), and green plants. In addition to these common foods, which may be prepared in various ways, there are various occasional or seasonal foods eaten as part of the regular diet, as well as foods eaten only or primarily on the occasion of a fiesta.

Two types of morning meal exist. The most common is a meal of tortillas and either meat or greens. This is varied every 4 to 8 days with some kind of atole. Some persons have taken over the local Michoacán habit of a boiled sweetpotato or a piece of bread and a glass of milk eaten early in the morning, at 7 or 8 o'clock. Such people usually eat the midday meal a little earlier in the day, between 12 and 1 o'clock. The midday meal is almost always a beef stew with cabbage (čurípo) eaten with tortillas. Those who cannot afford meat, eat some vegetable instead, often prepared with milk and sometimes with cheese also. The evening meal is usually the same as the midday meal. Prepared food may be kept over from one day to another.

Some people may eat only two meals, at about 10 a. m. and 7 p. m. The morning meal may consist of tortillas and beans or tortillas and chile sauce, varied frequently with atole, although no one would have atole daily. At night beans may be eaten if available; if not, boiled cabbage or čurípo is eaten, depending upon economic circumstances. Meat, eggs, fish, and game are rarely eaten by really poor people. Poor people often eat atapákua (squash blossoms and immature squash) with tortillas and ground dried fish or cheese if they have a midday meal. Between meals children or adults, if they feel hungry and the foods are available,

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184
262 eat cooked chayotes, chilacayotes, or boiled
264 squash (sometimes with brown sugar).

The following are the foods most commonly
262 eaten in Cherán:

All seasons: Tortillas, čurípo, tamales (kurúndas type), beans, beef or pork in brown mole, fish, cabbage, chiles, onions, coffee, chocolate, lemons, bananas, peanuts.

January: Cherimoyas, *zapote negro*, oranges.

February: Oranges.

March: Chilacayote (a squash stored since October).

April: Cherries, avocados, oranges.

May: Mushrooms, *nopales* (young leaves of the prickly pear), wheat breads, wheat, tortillas, avocados, watermelons.

June: Mushrooms, pears, peaches, avocados, cheese, sugarcane.

July: Cheese, immature squash, squash blossoms, pears, peaches, sugarcane.

August: Pears, peaches, green corn, sweet tamales (očepos), apples, cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans (*habas*.)

September: Pears, apples, crab apples (*tejocote*), cheese, sweetpotatoes, sugarcane, broadbeans, honey.

October: Chayotes, chilacayotes, crab apples, honey, sugarcane, guavas, oranges, papayas, broadbeans, cheese.

November: Chayotes, chilacayotes, broadbeans, guavas, oranges, pumpkins, cheese.

December: Cherimoyas, chayotes, some chilacayotes, guavas, oranges.

Some of these foods may be available in other months, but the periods in the list represent the times of greatest use. The list does not contain a number of little-used foods. Except for a few herbs, the maguey, and wild crab apple, no wild vegetable foods are eaten in Cherán.[13]

MEAT FOODS

252 Čurípo is a stewed meat, almost always of
262 beef, usually containing cabbage, a few gara-
banzos (chickpeas), and often a bit of carrot.
[263] Salt and a considerable quantity of ground dried chile are employed as seasoning. The thin broth is served in the same dish. One or two pieces of meat weighing about 2 ounces, a little of the vegetables, and about a cup of broth comprise the usual serving. Second servings are not usually eaten either by guests or in the privacy of the home. This food is eaten on all fiesta occasions throughout the year

[13] Some wild foods are reported by Sra. Rendón for La Cañada. Bitter prickly pear, *tuna agria* (*joconoscotle*), is used as greens in čurípo and in making chile sauce (*sinduraksu*). La Cañada Tarascans say mulberry leaves (?), *hojas de mora*, are eaten by the Sierra Tarascans "because of their poverty."

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[P.566] La Cañada Tarascans

262 Boiled broadbeans
511 Tortillas
556 Eggs cooked on the *comal*
Fried herbs with chile sauce
Tortillas

Boiled broadbeans
Boiled beans
Tortillas

262 184 *Further comparative notes (collected by Silvia Rendón)*—Possibly because Capacuaro is a smaller village with extensive woods close by, more wild animals are used for food. These include doves, *huilotas*, bird eggs (kuašanda), rabbits, flying squirrels, squirrels (kuiníkes), deer, gophers (khumás), wood rats (heyáki), peccary, jackrabbits (apácis), foxes, armadillos, bee larvae, larvae of a ground dwelling bee (*jicoteras*), worms from unidentified plants (talpanal), fresh water crawfish (čapus), wild crab apple worms (kauaš), and *tlacuache* (takuače). It is to be suspected that in Cherán, where persons closely associated with the woods are not often in the town, our list of wild animal products eaten is much shorter than it should be, although it probably represents the common diet.

● [264] Two meals a day are eaten, at 11 o'clock in the morning and in the evening at varying times. In one house the morning meal was tortillas and beans; in another, coffee and bread; in a third, coffee and tortillas sweetened with brown sugar; in a fourth, atole nuríte and tortillas; in a fifth, chile sauce, boiled greens, and tortillas. The second meal most commonly consists of squash or chayotes, meat broth with cabbage, meat and chile, and tortillas.

Special dishes not already reported include the following:

Tamalitos de čápata, small tamales of black amaranth seeds (čapata; the plant is puári), made to sell in Uruapan at three for 5 centavos. The seeds are ground and cooked in maize leaves like tamales.

Ičuskata, *gordos* filled with beans, for sale in Uruapan at 5 centavos each.

Yurúričúskatas, *gordos* made of maize dough mixed with brown sugar. In cooking, a number of pebbles are put in the *comal* and the *gordos* are placed on top of these so they cook more slowly.

Toasted tortillas (harípukata), eaten frequently at meals.

[p.57a]

184 Maize stalks, chewed as a sweet to a greater
262 extent than in Cherán.

Salt-rising bread made by one baker once a week. It sells at 10 centavos a piece.

The daily adult consumption of corn was estimated at three-eighths of a liter.

In Angáhuan, a large, isolated, and conservative western sierra town, two meals daily are
[264] also the rule. The usual hours are 10 a. m. and 6 p. m. Children and sick people may also eat tortillas or cold kurúndas at other hours. Tortillas are made by only a few women, the kurúnda taking its place. The kurúnda here is not wrapped in the maize leaf (k'an) but in the husk of the ear (šarákata).

The beef broth (čurípo) is made for preference from slightly spoiled meat or dried meat. (This is also true at Parícutin.) As there are no butchers in Angáhuan, butchering is done at home. Some of the meat is sold; the rest is
[251] cut in strips, rubbed with salt, and dried on the house roofs.

The agwákata tamale is made with beans like that of Cherán. It is eaten only for the
[196] fiestas of Candelaria (February 2), Carnival, Santa Cruz (May 3), Corpus, and at weddings.

Máškuta is a *posole* made of boiled black
[252] maize (čiráns), boiled beans, silantro, and chile. A little dough of ground black corn is added as thickening. This is served to guests at New Year's and at the fiestas in December and July. At New Year's the *posole* is accompanied by huge kurúndas weighing about 2 kilos.

272 Little milk is consumed. However, the town
184 produces enough cheese for export.

Agua miel is consumed in season. Pulque is little liked. A common drink is *"tepache"*
[273] (čarápe), which is slightly alcoholic.[30] It is made of barley, boiled in water and left in the water for a week. Carbonate and sweetening are then added.

Papaya juice is drunk and the seeds are toasted and eaten.

262 Men working in the fields or woods often
184 carry maize on the cob which they shell and
252 toast by a fire. This is called *"esquite"* (guaníto). They also carry *"esquite"* from home already prepared and mixed with brown sugar.

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[30] In Oaxaca, "tepache" is pulque reinforced with brown sugar and is more than "slightly" alcoholic.

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Sierra Tarascans

184 261 In times of famine, acorns are cooked like maize for *nixtamal* (boiled with lye or wood ashes), ground, and made into *gordos.*

782 532 A special "bread" of maize is used as an offering at the house altar. This is made of maize toquera (halfway between green and mature corn) cooked like *nixtamal*, ground, and shaped. It is cooked first on the *comal* and then hardened by placing it on embers. This bread is never eaten but is hung from strings in front of the altar. The shapes include quadrupeds, both with and without horns, crescent moons, and, most interesting of all, hearts represented in pre-Hispanic style.

184 262 In Parícutin a few divergences may be noted. Most people eat atole flavored with nuríte, without sugar, salt, or chile every morning. The wild crab apple is not eaten at all. The diet of many poor people consists almost wholly of atole and tortillas with chile sauce; this is spoken of as "eating dry," *"se come a secas."*

In San Juan Parangaricutiro, the Mestizoized *cabecera* for Angáhuan and Parícutin, the favorite atole is *atole de grano*, made of tender green maize, seasoned with green chile and an herb called *anisillo.* The atole is colored green with ground squash leaves. This atole is made especially during Holy Week. (Because of the lower elevations, the region of San Juan has green maize much of the year.) Wheat bran is used to make a type of *gordos.* Pulque, [273] mixed with chile sauce, is drunk during the rainy season. *Agua miel* without flavoring is drunk also.

EATING CUSTOMS

264 Eating habits seem to vary little from town to town. In Cherán food is served on tables only on special occasions by the more sophisticated, especially when an outsider is present. Usually, the persons being served sit on low stools or benches, holding the main dish in their hands. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and other foods or condiments are placed in baskets or dishes on the floor.

Generally the women eat last, but this is primarily due to the necessity of constantly warming or cooking tortillas rather than to any feeling of propriety. If there be more than one woman in the household, one or more may begin to eat with the men after the rush of

264 serving and preparing tortillas is over. Ordinarily, the only utensils are spoons and these are used only when coffee is served. Food is taken in the fingers or, more commonly, in a piece of tortilla.

264 527 In fiestas, separation of sexes is more pronounced. The men are seated in two rows on beams or planks. Each is served a bowl of curípo. Tortillas, tamales, salt, and water are placed at convenient intervals between the rows. Male children are served later in the same way. All serving outside the cooking place is done by men. Women and female children eat apart with less formality, often in the cooking place.

271 The only possible trace of ceremonial habits relating to eating is the habit of always leaving a little water when drinking. This is poured on the ground after drinking. No reasons were advanced for this procedure.

184 264 In Mestizoized Chilchota, according to Silvia Rendón, men are always served first. At weddings, however, unmarried girls are served

[text continues on top of p.58b]

ECONOMICS

128 The techniques of raw material production, manufacting processes, and utilization of products have been discussed in the preceding pages. Under the heading "Economics" I wish now to consider problems of production, consumption, and exchange of goods and services apart from the technologies involved. Such a separation is artificial, although perhaps no more so than is the segregation of any two aspects of a culture, but separate consideration is suggested both by the complexity of the subject and by the tendency in many ethnographic studies to consider discussion of technology to be a sufficient treatment of economics. Special discussion of economic problems also seems desirable in view of the present great interest in altering the basic economics and living standards of large areas of the world and the long-continued Mexican efforts to incorporate native groups more fully into the national economy.

437 The study of Tarascan economy is facilitated by the fact that many of the exchanges of goods and services are made on a money basis. Moreover, the convenience of money as a measure of value has so impressed the Tarascans that ex-

[text continues on middle of p.58b]

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[p.586]

184 first, then the men, and then the married
264 women. When in the fields or woods, Chilchota men make the fire, heat the food, and serve the women. However, they always turn the tortillas on the fire with long sticks; turning the tortillas with the fingers would be womanish.

Changes in food habits at Cherán probably
262 have been marked in recent years. Old people
178 say that "anciently" the major diet was cabbage and tamales. Lard was disliked so much that people could not eat it. Although the change in Cherán is attributed to the highway and the entry of Mestizos, probably the large-scale migration from Cherán to other places had much to do with the change. Although it is difficult to point out specific changes without comparative data from conservative towns, the major differences seem to be the displacement of tamales by tortillas and the eating of fiesta foods on ordinary occasions. Soft drinks, cookies, and other manufactured foods are also becoming more common.

ECONOMICS

437 changes on a barter basis are often calculated in terms of the money values of the goods or services involved.

The fact that Tarascan economy is a money
437 economy signifies more than ease in the study
177 of exchange; it also indicates at once that Tarascan economy is far from primitive as that term is usually understood. Actually Tarascan economics, like the rest of Tarascan culture, is strongly influenced by European culture. It does not necessarily follow, however,
[181] that Tarascan economics is not distinctive. The long period of assimilation and reintegration that characterized all of Tarascan culture occurred also in the economic field, and the result is a hybrid. Nevertheless, Tarascan culture is more European in origin than is that of most Mexican Indian groups. Moreover, especially in recent years, the economy of the outside world has impinged increasingly upon the Tarascans so that in 1940 there were individuals whose livelihood had been seriously affected by the outbreak of war and who, furthermore, were quite aware of their relationship to world markets.

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576 When one meets friends of the same sex, one says "Good day," "Good afternoon," or "With God" (*Buenos días, buenos tardes, adiós*). If persons stop to talk, they touch hands in greeting and on farewell. A person of opposite sex, if well known, will be greeted in the same way verbally, but the hands will not be touched and, unless the persons are relatives or *compadres*, they will not stop and talk.

If a man visits a friend in his field or his *solar* when he is working, he always helps a bit. A woman calling at the house will help a little with any work going on. If one sees a stray animal and knows the owner, it is good manners to take it to him; if the owner is unknown, the animal should be taken to the municipal building. If one is in a group and people become angry, efforts should be made to dissuade them from fighting unless they are drunk. It is all right to drive another person's dog away (although usually people just give strange dogs a wide berth), but a pig should never be molested unless it is trespassing. It is not proper to punish another person's child, but if he throws a rock, for example, it is all right to throw rocks back.

576 If you hear a piece of land is for sale and
432 do not know the owner, you get all the information you can about the land and then send the person giving the information to talk to the owner. If you know the owner you go yourself. Most commonly the owner will come to you. It is proper to stand and talk about other things for a while and then make an appointment to go to see the land. On the trip, the final arrangements about the price are usually thrashed out if you decide to buy the land. Then you go together to the municipal building and have a bill of sale made out, for which you pay.

576 At meals the oldest man present is served
264 first, unless there is a male guest present. Then the other men are served and then the women and children. Of course, there are always the small children who come about pestering their mothers for a tortilla and, as Agustín remarked, "Of course you want to get rid of those guys first." When water is passed around and one drinks out of a common pitcher, it is polite to pour a little water on the ground,

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[p.200?] Sierra Tarascans

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,
●264 before passing the pitcher on.

Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own
515 initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Paricutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.
[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

517 Most adults possess a fairly common set of
523 likes and dislikes, some of which have been developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of
[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they
517 are all bought by adults who hang them up in
273 the kitchen and the "*troje*." Both sexes like

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be
184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections. How far this is a function of the type of architecture and how far it is due to climatic conditions remains to be established. In general, the Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARASCAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When
431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife
476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos, which is regarded as the equivalent of the package of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes to the man of the house, the women to the wife.
[576] The man salutes those who make this present, tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women also shake hands and curtsey. The women help in the preparation of food, while the men help the master builder and his assistants with the roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-*
264 *diente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals
476 among those working. When the work is completed, the men are fed, then all the boys. They are all seated on two logs facing one another. Male relatives of the house owner assist in serving; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a particularly good friend of the householder. The women eat in a group near the fires where cooking
[262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage (čurípu), and tamales (kurúnda).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house and shortly afterward returns with his wife and other immediate members of his family. They are seated on a mat facing the new house and are
[531] fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house against violent storms and the devil.[4] The house

[4] Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Particutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priests' presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.